1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by M. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they measure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, and made many gestures. Though I could not understand his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations

of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow*," keeping time to rude specimens of music hammered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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The White Women

The contour of their features, and especially their red hair, indicated the race to which they belonged, beyond mistake. At the next festival of the full moon, where all, bond and free, were permitted to mingle and converse, I found, to my surprise, they could speak English. It was the first time since my capture that I had heard the accents of my native tongue. The oldest woman had passed the age of sixty, and her name was Mrs. Marietta Haskins. The two younger were her daughters, the oldest, Margaret, perhaps, twenty-one, the other, Harriet, three years her junior. They appeared to be persons who had been brought up in humble circumstances, though possessing a fair share of intelligence. The following is, substantially, the version of their story.

They were natives of one of the midland counties of England, where they occupied an obscure, though comfortable position in life. While thus situated, happy and contented with their lot, there came into the vicinity of their residence, one of the Latter-Day Saints, preaching and expounding the Mormon doctrines. His arguments were so ingenious—his appeals so eloquent and earnest—his description of the valley of the Great Salt Lake so glowing that many of the poor people listened and were converted. He represented the climate as more salubrious—the soil more fertile—the scenery more delicious than in any other region of the world. He portrayed, in fascinating colors, the life of ease and luxury the poorest thrall in England might lead in that favored land—where wild herds, the common property of all, darkened a thousand hills, and the bountiful earth yielded its fruits without toil.

The fortunate inhabitants of this paradise he pictured as basking in the full fruition of the highest earthly happiness. Discarding the false, domestic notions to which the wicked

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4; 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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224 825 787

direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusʉtemini*, "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796

Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171

This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[837]

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians*, 312.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *nənəpi* power gives Herculean strength (a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned. 776

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were socialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult. 796 ●

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait*, "Big Doctoring." It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery. 796 755

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Comanches

● 796 755 The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine, approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane*:[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

[534] [18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by *Kɔwino*, a Yep Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at-

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 67.

The Comanches

796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
755 here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Search for Power

Each dancer carried in his right hand a rattle, decorated with feathers, paint, and beads; and in his left hand he carried a wand or fan prepared from the wing feathers of an eagle. The dancers were young eagles attempting to leave their nest and parental care in order to soar away, masters of the sky. The dancers did not sing, but attempted from time to time to imitate the cry of the young eagle. When a dancer lagged or wearied, the leader either blew his eagle-bone whistle as a warning for him to speed up or reinvigorated him with new power by waving the eagle fan above him. When the music ceased, the dancers dropped on their knees and sat back against their legs to rest, but the moment the music resumed they sprang to their feet and began dancing again.

Between dances a warrior would rush into the circle and recite an outstanding coup or deed which he had performed. At the close of his recital a deafening applause of yells, drum beats, gourd rattles, and the stamping of feet went up. These speeches were like pep talks to encourage the young dancers to acts of bravery. During the dance, the warriors of the girl's people rushed up and made a sham attempt to recapture her. In actual practice they rushed in and recited some coups of their own. These recitals had to be true, because the power of eagle medicine was so strong that misfortune would befall any who on this solemn occasion falsified the facts. Spectators looked on in reverential silence.

About mid-morning, the mother of one of the dancers brought water for the participants and set it down near the circle. The leader drank and then offered the water to the dancers, each drinking in turn and passing it to the one on his left. After the "failure" of the girl's relatives to recapture her, they brought in presents, which they deposited before her in the circle. Relatives and friends of the dancers might also provide some of the gifts.

The medicine man retained a portion of the presents and gave the others to the dancers. One informant had received a horse when he danced. Not infrequently a dancer went through the ceremony without gaining power. "There had to be something inside stretching and pleading, reaching and grasping for power, if it were to be obtained."

The dance ended shortly before midday. No ceremonial departure

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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787 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers
●796 were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo
224 Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been
796 demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith. *op. cit.*, 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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first foods. All informants hasten to emphasize that it is not an original Comanche rite and that it has seldom been used by them. According to observers, the Comanches did not follow the customary procedure and ritual of their neighbors, but adapted the ceremony to their own fancy and practical situation. The ceremony was sponsored by the village headman, who secured the services of a prominent medicine man for the occasion. Instructions were issued, and at the appointed time all the people of the camp gathered at the accustomed meeting place. During the afternoon, the medicine man mixed his herbs and roots and boiled them until he had a thick broth. When the mixture was ready, he scattered his coals and addressed the people who had seated themselves around him in the customary fashion—the principal men immediately around him, the young warriors just back of them, and the women and children on the outside of the circle. He told them of the benevolence of the Great Spirit who had given them food in season and exhorted his listeners to be thankful for it.

After he had finished speaking, the people joined hands in two circles, one inside the other, and danced and sang to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. After about thirty minutes the headman had them line up and file past the medicine man, who gave each in turn a spoonful of his medicine. Stubborn children were compelled to swallow by holding their chins up until the medicine went down. The medicine was a strong purgative used for cleansing the system before eating the first green corn of the season.

That night or the next evening a number of fires were kindled near the circle, and the women roasted a quantity of green corn, which they piled on buffalo hides. After the roasting was finished, all the people sang and danced. When the dancers wearied, they sat in a circle, and the medicine man again addressed them. At the close of the address, he stood over the piles of corn and with his hands and eyes lifted toward the sky prayed for the Great Spirit to continue to give his people strong power. The people then ate the corn and returned to their lodges.[22]

So it was that the Comanches sought and manipulated power. If religion is the complex of man's interrelations with the supernatural

[22] Lee, *op. cit.*, 155–57; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 66–68, gives a disappointing account of a ceremony witnessed by the Reverend John Melville.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa.

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache.

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 276 796 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a [789 841] Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an [301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 824 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 352 171 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage" (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 343 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [80] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this. The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although informants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also encouraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters, could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 346 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

[532] [786] While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 522 292 536 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns appeared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 541 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's invasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the triumph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums [539] of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medicine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the ceremonial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior, Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápaire'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1939 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1939.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business-like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 771 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless believe in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omniscience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 771 776 [186] They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

175 771 [821] [753] [793] [796]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'"

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody.

Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
727 numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
562 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
593 as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
304 culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
776 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
715 Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
711 of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
715 fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
754 culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
578 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
721 the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
796 simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
621 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[578] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
291 a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[223] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedaring, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts.

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the burdens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, consisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06●

Peyote Element Distribution List

Element	Occurrence																																
	Tse	W-2	Co	Ute	Ute	Cr 2	Cr 1	NC	Wa	Cr 3	Ute	Ar	Cr 4	Kio	Com	Kio	Kio	K-A	Ut														
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)		(−)	+	+	(+)														
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
10. Decorated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
16. Only after midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
17. To accompany singer holding staff																																	
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+														
20. Binding decorated		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
21. Passed around														(−)	+	+	+	−	+														
22. Held with staff while singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
24. Only after midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	+	+														
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+														
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+														
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														

(Continued on next page)

N W
171
534
795*
796

C
171
534
795
796
●

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No 6
Delaware NM7
C
D
171
795
796
534
579

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	TOM	ARA	CHE	CHI	CHR	COM	DEL	FOX	GRO	HOP	KIO	KIT	MES	NAV	OJI	PAI	SAU	SHO	TET	UTE	WIC
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−																		
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days																					
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+																				
43. Star significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+																				
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+																				
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tmc	Wrc	Cho	Ow	Wrc	Wrc	Cho	Ow	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc	Wrc
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines																					
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight																					
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
78. 3 assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C D 71 MS 796 [274] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944.NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow N 910
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co Cr D W 171 745 ● 746 763 778

PAIUTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																								
	Lt	E-A	Ko	Com	Kio	Ar S	Da 1	Da 2	Wis	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Ha	Ute	Com	W-2	Tom								
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+									
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•	−	−	•	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+									
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	•	−	+								
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	−	+	•	•	+	+	•	+	+								
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	+	•	•	+	+	•	+	+								
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	+	•	•	+	+	•	+	+								
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	−	+	•	•	+	+	•	+	+								
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	+	+	+								
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	+	+	+								
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+								
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	+	+	+								
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•	+	+	(−)	−			−	−	•	+	+	•	+	+								
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+								
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+			+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+								
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+								
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−	+		+	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
111
MS
M96 ●
[276]
[783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
D
111
745
●
794
[834]

Element	Occurrence																							
	Ut	Kw	Ha	Cheh	Ha	Ar	Da	Ka	Wa	Ow	Oj	Os	Wa	Pa	Co	Ap	Tw							
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+										+								
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+							
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–							
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
161. Rule against women singing	+	•	–	+		(+)	+	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•							
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+		•	+	•	•	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•							
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+		•	+	•	•	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•							
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
167. 4 sticks added							–				(+)	(+)	(+)											
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+		+	–	•	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•							
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–		+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
171. 4 times	+		+	–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•		+	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•							
174. By women		–	–	•		–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+		•	–	–	•	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+		+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–							

| Element | Occurrence | | |

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																					
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kit	SB	Dia	Dia	Wis	Dak	Ot	Cr	Sha	Ute	Ore	P-W	Tom					
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+					
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
222. Wash before eating									•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+					
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+					
224. Before eating	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+					
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door																						
233a. Order before passing reversed																						
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
236. Sun greeted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–					
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting																						

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6●
Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
795
● 796

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab 8: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab 8: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab 8: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab 8: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab 8: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab 8: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
42. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔg"eʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
795
● 796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be east is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 205a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

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236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.